Media Consumption Patterns Among Chinese People in the UK Within the Contemporary Global Media Landscape

Siqi Li

University of Glasgow, Glasgow, UK

This paper focuses on media consumption, especially Chinese-language media consumption, among Chinese people living in the UK within the current global media landscape. This research project employs an explanatory sequential mixed-methods approach, utilizing a questionnaire survey, focus groups, and semi-structured in-depth interviews to gather both quantitative and qualitative data. The findings indicate that Chinese people in the UK predominantly consume media through social platforms on mobile devices. Notably, their approach to accessing news reflects a trend of independent choice driven by personal information preferences. This study suggests that shifts in the media consumption of Chinese individuals in the UK are influenced by changing media environments in China, and their media habits evolve as they gradually adapt to the host society. While Chinese-language media offer platforms for Chinese individuals in the UK to create virtual communities to meet various needs, this research argues that while it may help them adapt to the host society more quickly, it does not necessarily encourage full integration.

Keywords: Media consumption, Chinese people in the UK, Chinese-language media, Chinese diaspora, New media

Introduction

The development of globalization has intensified worldwide population movement. China, as the country with the largest population in the world, has witnessed continuous migration since the introduction of its "reform and opening" policies in 1979 (Zhou, 2017). As Brinkerhoff (2009, p. 12) argues, "immigrants are frequently at the forefront of technology adoption". In recent years, driven by advancements in communication technology, it has become evident that new media, especially social media, have brought significant changes to the lives of immigrants. This research aims to bridge existing gaps in the study of media consumption among Chinese people in the UK and contribute fresh insights and understanding regarding the diverse media consumption habits and information preferences of different Chinese populations residing in the UK within the context of the current new media landscape.

This research will address the main research question: "How do Chinese people in the UK consume media, especially Chinese-language media, in the current global media context?" It will also investigate the following three sub-questions:

RQ1. What are the distinctive characteristics of media consumption among Chinese people in the UK?
RQ2. How do Chinese people in the UK engage with Chinese-language media?

Siqi Li, Ph.D., Dr., Centre for Cultural Policy Research, University of Glasgow, Glasgow, UK.

RQ3. How has media consumption among Chinese people in the UK evolved from the traditional mass media era to the current new media landscape?

According to statistics provided by Wu (2017), three-quarters of migrants from Mainland China who arrived in the UK since 2001 were initially students. Contemporary Chinese migration has shifted from being dominated by laborers to being dominated by students (Plewa, 2020). Therefore, this research categorizes Chinese people in the UK into three primary groups: Chinese workers, Chinese students, and Chinese immigrants. Chinese workers in the UK in this research primarily refer to low-skilled laborers who are often less educated and employed as chefs, waiters, dishwashers in Chinese restaurants, or in Chinese retail shops. Chinese immigrants in the UK in this study encompass all Chinese individuals who migrated to the UK for immigration purposes or have resided in the UK for an extended period, holding permanent residence visas or UK citizenship. This research will delve into the media consumption habits of these different groups of Chinese people in the UK within the current media landscape.

This study adopts an explanatory sequential mixed-methods approach that combines quantitative and qualitative research methods. It utilizes a questionnaire survey, focus groups, and semi-structured, in-depth interviews to collect data. In terms of data analysis, this research offers a comprehensive analysis of the media habits of Chinese people in the UK, focusing on their media needs, media preferences, and media consumption patterns, while also considering their unique media environment. It draws upon relevant theories such as digital diaspora (Brinkerhoff, 2009) and Uses and Gratification theory (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1973). The research results are presented in three sections: the characteristics of media consumption among Chinese people in the UK, the consumption of Chinese-language media by Chinese individuals in the UK, and the changes in media consumption among Chinese people in the UK.

Literature Review

Chinese people in the UK can be regarded as an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983), where members of the community are fluid and may never know each other individually. Individuals in imagined communities are connected through their imaginings as they consume the same print-language media (Anderson, 1983). People construct their imagined world with piecemeal fragments that they experience through media (Appadurai, 1996). For diaspora groups, media help combine their fragmentary points of identification by creating new connections between cultures and places, thereby fulfilling the imaginary coherence of the history of all diaspora individuals (Shi, 2005).

Media also generate collective diaspora imaginings (Shi, 2009). Members of the diaspora group may maintain their group identity by consuming the same ethnic media to meet their in-group needs (Somani & Guo, 2018). Media created by and for ethnics in a host country in the mother languages of ethnics can be defined as ethnic media (Shi, 2009). According to the interpretation of imagined communities, mother-language media in the host country used to be the primary way for diasporas to keep their imagined communities in the mass media age. From this perspective, Chinese-language print media have been the primary medium for the Chinese diaspora to sustain the imagined diaspora communities and keep their original identity in the receiving society. Moreover, mother-language media also published local news from the host country to help migrants better adjust to the new environment, which has a positive impact on the intercultural adaptation process of migrants (Park, 1922).

Internet-based media reconstitute a broader field of traditional mass media, while the emergence of the internet makes electronic media break the limitation of time and space to a great extent, forming the global de-territorialization of communities and cultures (Appadurai, 1996). As Georgiou (2013, p. 82) put it, "Long gone is the time of the hegemony of the national press that supported national imagined communities or of national broadcasting that contained and reaffirmed national ideological frames". The internet facilitates the connection between dispersed members of the diaspora and promotes solidarity among them (Brinkerhoff, 2009). On this basis, Brinkerhoff (2009) further developed the concept of the digital diaspora community, emphasizing online virtual diaspora community construction through internet-based media consumption of diaspora members from the same country of origin (Brinkerhoff, 2009; Karim, 2003; Ponzanesi, 2020). The digital diaspora community can be discussed in a wider range of circumstances, considering the virtual diaspora community on digital platforms as a kind of imagined community. As Boumba (2018) presented, the internet is a modern platform for diasporas to establish connections and transform an "imagined community" into a "virtual community".

There is no doubt that the worldwide spread of new media has dramatically altered the media consumption habits of the diaspora (Yu & Sun, 2019), potentially affecting the solidification of their national cultural identity (Chan, 2005) and allowing for more flexible identities. Compared to traditional media, internet-based new media offer greater opportunities for individual diaspora members to express themselves freely. Seargeant and Tagg (2014) note that the consumption of new media not only creates new online contexts for identity formation but also gives rise to constructivist ideas related to the nature of identity. As Mahmood (2016) suggests, new media platforms warrant further exploration to better understand the continuous evolution of human identity and social relations in this digital age of increasing international population flows.

The Uses and Gratification theory posits that individuals consume media to fulfill their various needs (Katz et al., 1973). In their seminal work, Katz et al. (1973) delineate these media consumption needs into five categories: cognitive, affective, personal integrative, social integrative, and tension-free needs. Media, especially mother-language media, can provide a wealth of news and information about the host country and the local culture of the diaspora, catering to their cognitive needs. Moreover, as Cohen (1997) suggests, diasporas often exist in the liminal space between time and space domains, and imagined communities can provide them with a sense of belonging and unity in a foreign country. Virtual diaspora communities formed on internet-based new media platforms can alleviate feelings of loneliness among diasporas (Al-Rawi & Fahmy, 2018) and address their affective and tension-free needs (Katz et al., 1973). Furthermore, members of a diaspora can maintain their existing social relationships from their homeland and establish new ones in the host country through digital media (Boumba, 2018), helping them satisfy their affective and social integrative needs. To contribute empirical evidence to this field, this study will employ the Uses and Gratification theory (Katz et al., 1973) as a foundation for interpreting and analyzing research findings, aiming to explore how various media channels satisfy the needs of Chinese people in the UK.

Several attempts have been made to explore the expression and identity of diasporas on social media. Al-Rawi and Fahmy (2018) focused on how Italy's diasporic Syrians strengthened their group identity through social media consumption. Georgiou (2013) studied Arab diasporas in three European cities and found that minority groups preferred expressing themselves on digital media platforms to break free from the restrictions of mass media. Branco (2018) explored the media consumption patterns of Nepalese diaspora members in Portugal and

argued that media serve not only as tools for diaspora members to stay in touch with their homeland but also to help them learn new languages, adapt to new lifestyles, and construct new identities. Boumba (2018) investigated the self-emergence and cultural identity of second-generation Congolese youth diasporas in Brussels on social media, concluding that social media were indispensable for diasporas because various cultural elements were presented with humor and entertainment. Wang (2014) researched digital media consumption among German Chinese sojourners and found that digital media had a positive impact on the intercultural adaptation process of sojourners. These studies focused on the media consumption of different diaspora groups, contributing to the research field concerning the multidimensional impacts of digital media consumption among various ethnic minority diasporas in Europe. This research aims to make a similar contribution to this area.

Research Methods

This research follows a pragmatist approach and adopts explanatory sequential mixed methods, referring to the initial collection of quantitative data, followed by analysis. The results are then used to plan the subsequent qualitative data collection and analysis. It emphasizes that the quantitative and qualitative databases should be analyzed separately, as quantitative results form the foundation for qualitative data collection (Creswell, 2014). In details, this research employs a combination of questionnaire surveys, focus groups, and semi-structured in-depth interviews to collect both quantitative and qualitative data. The questionnaire survey was the first step in data collection, and the collected quantitative data were subsequently analyzed. Following this, the researcher organized focus groups and conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews to gather qualitative data. Finally, all collected qualitative data were transcribed, coded, analyzed, and translated.

Participants in questionnaire survey met the following criteria: They were over 18 years old, held Chinese nationality, were from China or considered themselves Chinese, and had lived in the UK for more than half a year. To ensure research flexibility and collect more valid data on a broader scale, electronic questionnaires were primarily used. This research collected 373 responses to the questionnaire, with 306 fully completed. All questionnaires were preliminarily analyzed before conducting subsequent focus groups and semi-structured in-depth interviews.

In qualitative research, the researcher divided Chinese people in the UK into four focus groups: Chinese students in Birmingham, Chinese workers in London, Chinese females in Edinburgh, and Chinese males in Glasgow, totalling 26 participants. The results from different focus groups were designed to explore differences in media consumption among various groups of Chinese people in the UK. Additionally, the researcher invited 10 Chinese individuals in the UK to participate in semi-structured in-depth interviews. Semi-structured interviews encouraged interviewees to provide more detailed answers, allowing for the collection of in-depth and relevant data in a short period, supplementing the questionnaire survey and focus group data. All data in this research were collected during the early period of the COVID-19 pandemic, from the end of January to March 2022.

To better understand interviewees' expressions and obtain more effective information, all focus groups and interviews were conducted in Mandarin Chinese. Consequently, translation was necessary when providing a narrative description of the findings (Al-Amer et al., 2015). Since the research focuses on text collected in focus groups and interviews, content analysis was predominantly used. Content analysis follows a logical and relatively straightforward process, providing a clear approach to quantifying the contents of text (Denscombe, 2014).

Specifically, this research applied deductive content analysis, where the qualitative data collected were analyzed through several predetermined theories summarized in the literature review, before seeking to support or challenge them through empirical evidence (Young et al., 2020).

Results and Discussion

Key Characteristics of Media Consumption Patterns Among Chinese People in the UK

    Concentrate on mobile device and coexistence of multiple media. This research demonstrates that mobile media accessed via mobile devices have become the primary channels for Chinese individuals in the UK to access information. As proposed by Uy-Tioco and Cabalquinto (2020), mobile phones and related network information technologies have reshaped the concepts of time and space, affirming the hypothesis of "perpetual contact". The personal social networks of mobile phone users can span vast distances and extend worldwide.

    The quantitative data, gathered through 306 questionnaires, and the qualitative data collected through focus groups and interviews, reveal that mobile media have become the primary means for Chinese people in the UK to access news and other information. As Figure 1 illustrates, 92.5% of participants selected mobile devices, such as mobile phones and tablet PCs, as their most frequently used devices for accessing news and other information. This finding aligns with statistical data from the China Internet Network Information Centre (CNNIC), which reported that as of March 2020, approximately 99.3% of Chinese internet users accessed the internet through their mobile phones. These data closely mirror the results of our questionnaire survey (CNNIC, 2020). In contrast, only 7.5% of participants indicated PC and digital TV as their primary devices for accessing information. It is evident that Chinese individuals in the UK have entered the era of mobile media.
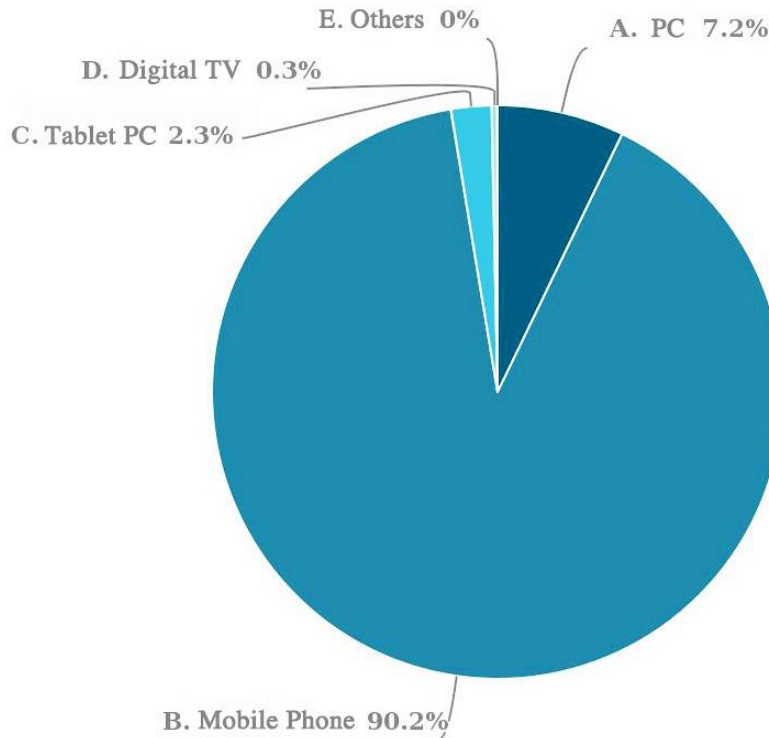

Figure 1. Media device usage preference of Chinese people in the UK.

Qualitative data gathered from focus groups and interviews also indicate that mobile phones are the most commonly used devices by Chinese individuals in the UK to access information. Furthermore, the proliferation of various news and social media apps designed for mobile devices has provided direct channels for Chinese residents in the UK to access information. Participants in focus groups and interviews mentioned that they typically access information through social media apps, news apps, mobile browsers, and so on via their mobile phones. It is evident that internet-based media have become the primary channels for Chinese individuals in the UK to access information, while traditional methods of obtaining information, such as newspapers, television, and radio, have become marginalized in their daily lives.

In today's world, people have shifted from passive consumption of mass information through traditional means to a more active information retrieval mode, which includes following influencers and bloggers on social media, downloading dedicated apps, and using search engines, among others. In fact, 79.1% of participants in the research questionnaire reported using mobile search engines to access information every day. This research suggests that Chinese individuals in the UK are increasingly focused on information preference rather than media platform preference. This means that they actively search for the type of information or news they are interested in through multiple media channels, rather than sticking to one or a few selected media platforms and passively receiving information provided by these platforms.

Integration of Chinese-language channels and English-language channels. Except for participants from the Chinese workers' focus group, all the participants in other focus groups and all the interviewees agreed that they prefer accessing information from both Chinese-language channels and English-language channels. Interviewees C (2020), H (2020), and ZH (2020) all concurred that Chinese is the mother tongue of most Chinese people in the UK, making it easier for them to read Chinese and understand the nuances of the language. Participants from the Chinese students' focus group (2020) expressed their preference for Chinese-language content for entertainment but mentioned that it does not prevent them from using English-language media platforms such as YouTube or Instagram to watch videos and access entertainment information. A participant from the Chinese student focus group (2020) cited two reasons for his frequent use of YouTube: firstly, to learn about what British people or others around the world say about China, and secondly, because there is a wealth of free Chinese-language programs available on YouTube.

The consumption of English-language media is influenced by language proficiency and changing media circumstances. Relatively speaking, Chinese people in the UK with low English proficiency tend to primarily use Chinese-language media and view English-language media as a supplementary channel for news and useful information. This helps explain why participants in the Chinese workers' group rarely use English-language media. A participant (2020) from the Chinese workers' group mentioned that they cannot speak English, let alone use English-language media. Additionally, a participant from the Chinese male focus group (2020), who has lived in the UK for 27 years, stated that when he needs quick access to UK-related news, he prefers searching on British media such as the BBC or other British news websites as it is the fastest option. Chinese-language media often require time to translate news or information into Chinese, resulting in a delay of at least 15 minutes.

Chinese people in the UK also use English apps in their daily life, such as Google Maps, urban transportation apps, weather forecast apps, and more. Furthermore, participants in this research suggested that comparing information across various channels and platforms helps them verify the accuracy of information. A participant

(2020) from the Chinese female group stated, "If there are some controversial incidents, I usually choose to compare the coverage of the incident on multiple Chinese-language and English-language channels to form my own judgment about it".

The indispensable role of social media. Social media are a category of new media that refer to online communication platforms comprising various types of blogs, microblogs, instant messaging (IM), wikis, and social networking sites (SNS) (Leighton & Michael, 2017). This research found that the most commonly used social media platforms among Chinese people in the UK are WeChat and Weibo. One of the primary functions of social media is to enable users to build and maintain a variety of social network contacts beyond geographical barriers through remote connectivity (Seargeant & Tagg, 2014; Leighton & Michael, 2017). This is also one of the main motivations for Chinese people in the UK to use social media. Nowadays, with the increasing functionalities of social media, Chinese people in the UK interact with it daily for a growing number of reasons. Social media are not only an important tool for Chinese people in the UK to extend and maintain their social networks but also a vital means for them to access and share necessary information. Chinese immigrant X (2020) stated that he obtains over 70% of news and other information through social media platforms, especially through Chinese-language social media.

Compared to Chinese-language social media, English-language social media were rarely used by participants in this research. Generally speaking, participants in this study mentioned that they occasionally used English-language social media to access entertainment news, contact non-Chinese friends, and communicate with other Chinese people in the UK who do not use Chinese-language social media. Interviewee X (2020) stated that he would not use English-language social media because he believed that Chinese-language social media could meet all his media needs. Another interviewee, F (2020), who has lived in the UK for 18 years, said that he seldom uses English-language social media because he has few non-Chinese friends. He only maintains basic communication with non-Chinese colleagues or customers through specific English-language social media apps like WhatsApp and Messenger. Participants from the Chinese students focus group (2020) agreed that, due to learning needs, they often use WhatsApp to communicate with their non-Chinese classmates. They also expressed that they only use this kind of English-language instant messaging when they need to communicate with their non-Chinese classmates and do not browse it in their free time as frequently as they use WeChat.

The Chinese-Language Media Consumption of Chinese People in the UK

The results of questionnaire surrey revealed that 79.1% of participants consume Chinese-language media daily (refer to Figure 2). On average, Chinese individuals in the UK spend approximately three hours a day engaging with Chinese-language media (see Figure 3). The survey results underscore the significant role that Chinese-language media play in the daily lives of Chinese people in the UK, with most dedicating a considerable amount of time to its consumption each day. Furthermore, the research indicates that 94.4% of respondents to the questionnaire survey reported using Chinese-language social media multiple times a day. Additionally, participants from the focus groups and interviewees in this research consistently affirmed their daily use of Chinese-language social media.
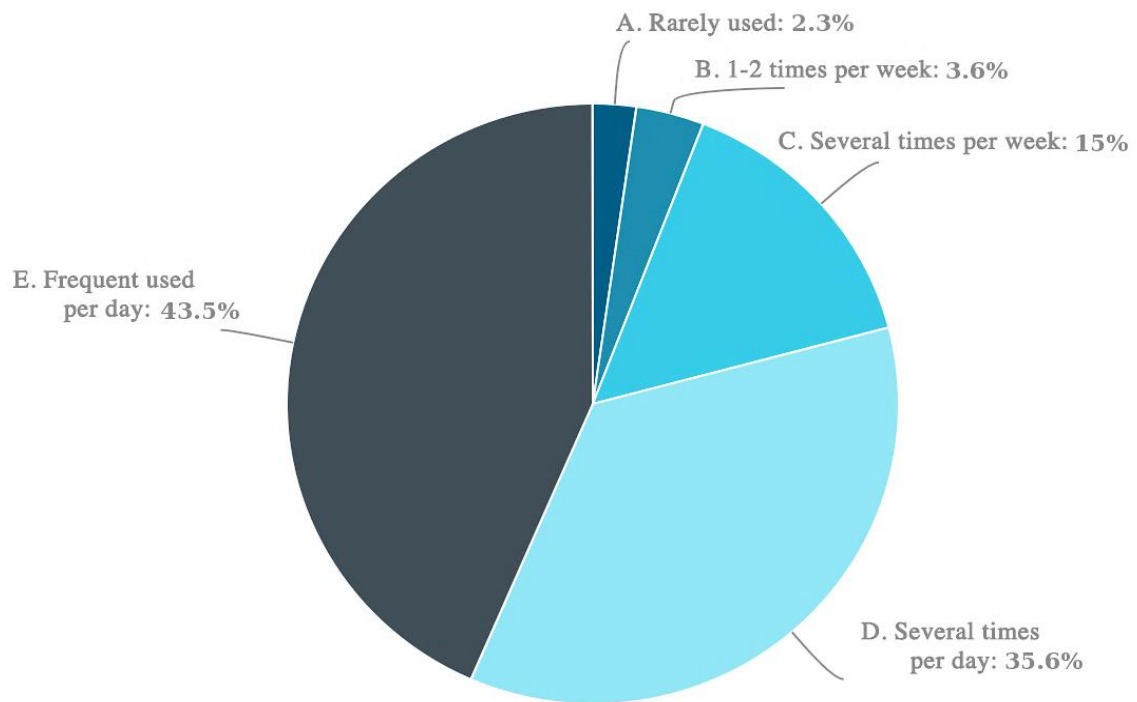
Figure 2. The frequency that Chinese people in the UK use Chinese-language media.
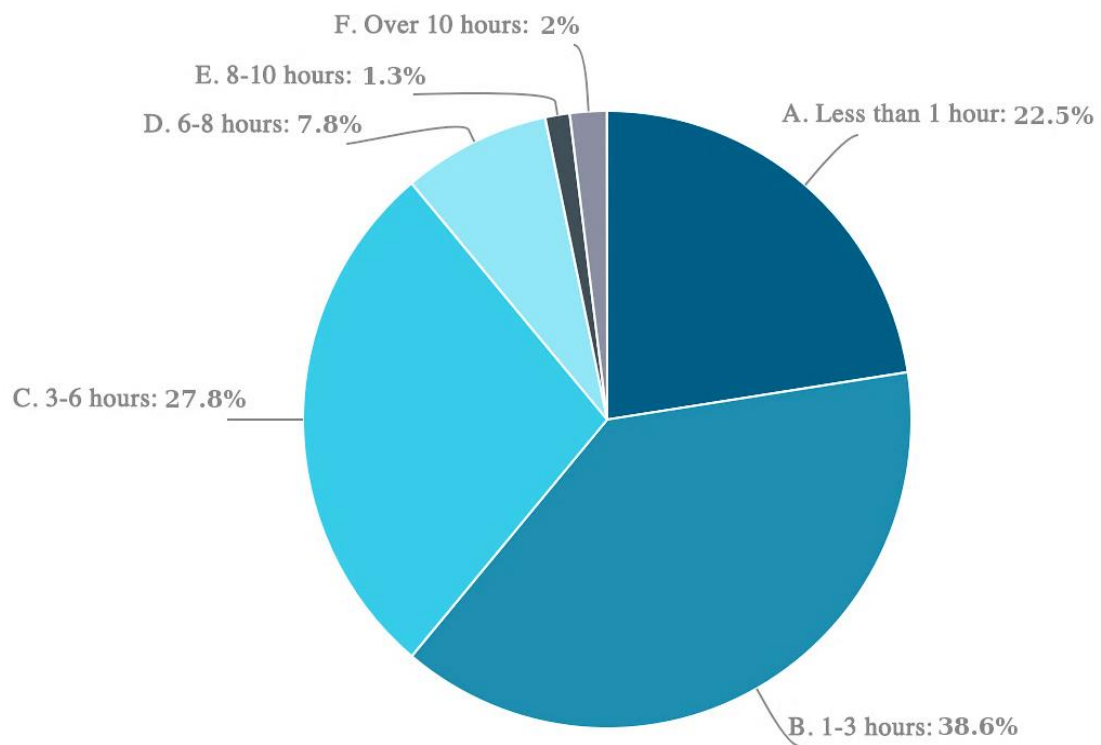

Figure 3. Daily usage of Chinese-language media by Chinese people in the UK.

A. Keep in touch with family and friends in China.
B. Make friends, and keep in touch with Chinese friends in the UK.
C. Get China-related news and information.
D. Get news and information of the UK, such as rental and recruitment.
E. Entertainment
F. Study
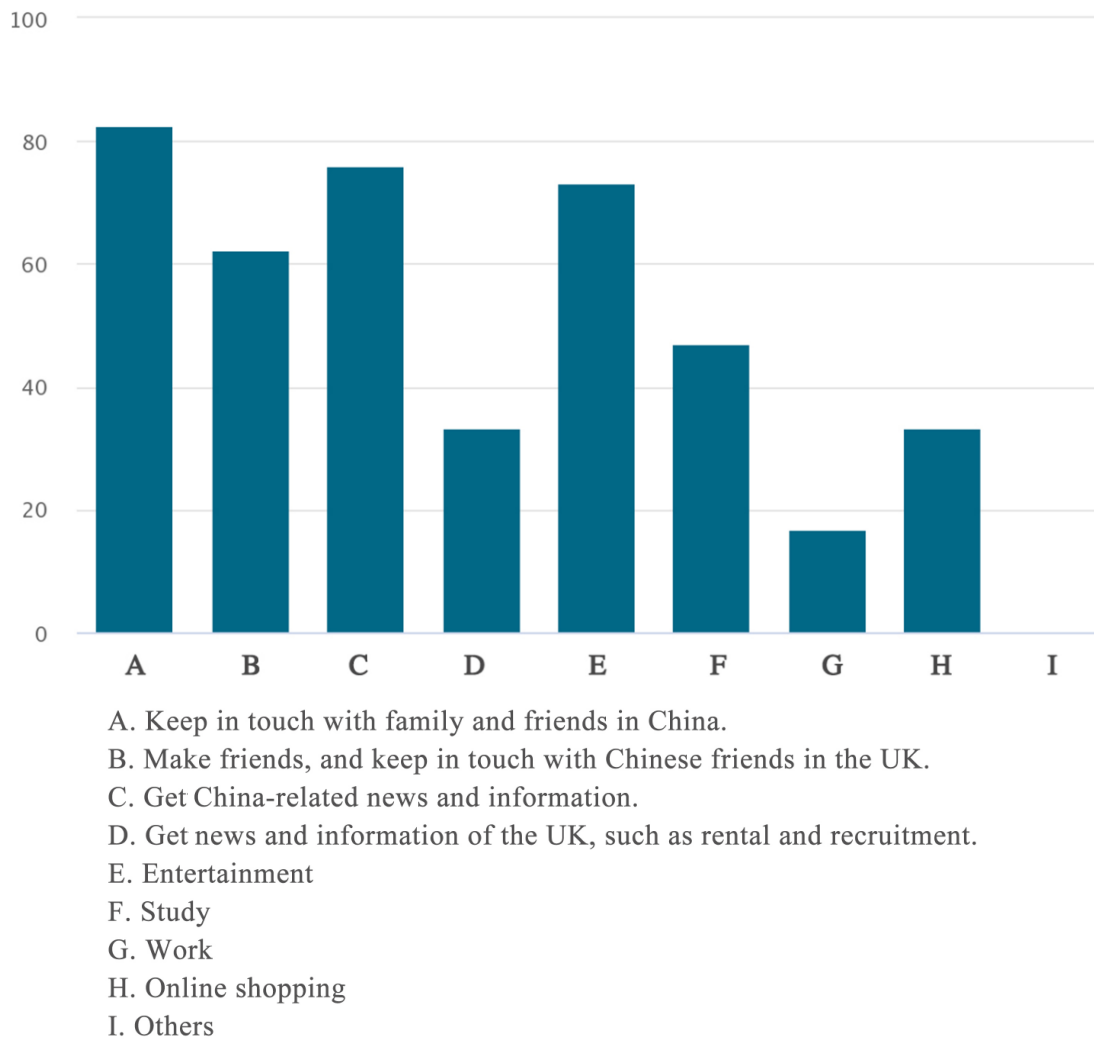G. Work
H. Online shopping
I. Others

Figure 4. Factors driving the use of Chinese-language media of Chinese people in the UK.

Based on the framework of the Uses and Gratification approach as outlined by Katz et al. (1973), the researcher combined the findings of a questionnaire survey and previous studies to list several potential needs that Chinese people in the UK fulfill using Chinese-language internet-based media (see Figure 4). According to Figure 4, the primary purposes for Chinese people in the UK using Chinese-language media can be summarized as follows: as their primary information source to meet cognitive needs, access China-related news and information, maintain or expand social relationships to fulfill affective and social integrative needs, and for entertainment that may address tension-free needs (Katz et al., 1973).

Ethnic media provide ethnic minorities with news and information in their mother tongue and serve as platforms for minority communities and their audiences to engage in discussions and exchange comments, views, and opinions (Deuze, 2006). The researcher found that Chinese people in the UK tend to retain the media consumption habits they developed while living in their home country. They mainly use Chinese-language media to access news and other useful information. People typically prefer to receive information in their most familiar language, which is often their mother tongue. Interviewee ZH (2020) stated, "The main reason for me to get news

from Chinese-language media is because I prefer receiving news in our mother tongue; it is faster and more convenient for me". Interviewee L (2020) also mentioned that reading Chinese-language content is easier for her, so she chooses to pay more attention to Chinese-language media platforms to access interesting news or stay informed about popular events.

Mobile media, particularly Instant Messaging (IM) apps, play a significant role in the daily lives of transnational families as they fulfill their social integrative needs (Morgan, 2011; Uy-Tioco & Cabalquinto, 2020). This research found that over 80% of respondents rely on Chinese-language social media to stay in touch with their family members and Chinese friends in China (see the Figure 4). In focus groups and interviews, almost all the respondents agreed that WeChat is the most important tool for maintaining contact with their families and friends in China. On WeChat, family members can gather in a transnational social space facilitated by mobile digital devices (Nedelcu & Wyss, 2016). In the Chinese student group, all the participants mentioned that WeChat is the sole media platform they use to regularly contact their parents or other family members. In the Chinese workers' focus group (2020), a participant noted that the popularity of WeChat has increased convenience. Making overseas calls used to be very expensive before the emergence of WeChat. Now they can easily communicate with their friends and family members in China via WeChat as long as there is a network signal.

Madianou and Miller (2012) pointed out that people select specific media platforms based on the characteristics of the platform and the limitations of other devices and channels. In focus groups and interviews, participants agreed that WeChat is a crucial tool for communication among the Chinese community in the UK. The reasons why Chinese people in the UK choose to use WeChat are its powerful functionality and high utilization rate in China. There are various WeChat groups for Chinese people in the UK, covering various subsections of Chinese society in the UK, including Chinese student groups at universities, second-hand goods groups, fellow townsman groups, colleague groups, and Chinese community groups. These groups serve to meet their social integrative needs and have, to some extent, assumed the role of interpersonal communication. They provide a significant means for Chinese people in the UK to publish and obtain information and satisfy their cognitive needs.

Chinese people in the UK rely on Chinese-language media for psychological and emotional support. As suggested by Anderson (1983) in the theory of the imagined community, audiences maintain a sense of community by using the same language and print media. "Chinese people in the UK" can be seen as an imagined Chinese-speaking community within the English-speaking society. Nowadays, the emergence of Chinese-language internet-based media, especially Chinese-language new media platforms like WeChat and Weibo, has become a new space for members of the imagined community of Chinese people in the UK to maintain a mental sense of kinship. These imagined communities can help their members fulfil their affective and stress-free needs (Katz et al., 1973). For example, users who have a WeChat account dedicated to news and activities related to Chinese people in the UK form an imagined community. This research finds that such imagined communities may help their members reduce loneliness and meet their affective and stress-free needs. As a participant from the Chinese students' focus group (2020) stated, "Using WeChat or Weibo might make me feel like I was in China and helps me relieve my loneliness in the UK".

Even though some Chinese people in the UK do not intend to return to China and have few emotional connections with China, they still use Chinese-language media and follow China-related news. As Chinese immigrant D (2020) suggested, Chinese people in the UK, who have yellow skin and black hair, may find it difficult to change their Chinese appearance, even if they have otherwise adapted to the local society.

Consequently, others in the host society still perceive them as Chinese by default. They are therefore inevitably influenced by China-related events, which compel them to focus on China-related news. As a participant in the Chinese worker focus group (2020) mentioned, he watches China-related news because if significant events occur in China, they will affect him. For example, few customers came to Chinese restaurants after the COVID-19 outbreak was announced in China. Thus, the participant (2020) believes that he will always have a connection to China.

Furthermore, in a questionnaire survey, over 70% of participants regarded Chinese-language media as an important source of entertainment, serving as a means to relieve tension and stress (Katz et al., 1973). A Chinese student, P (2020), from the Chinese students' focus group, expressed that she usually uses TikTok and Weibo for entertainment. Chinese student W (2020), also from the Chinese students' focus group, mentioned that he enjoys watching entertaining videos on Chinese-language video websites and keeps track of the top trending searches on Weibo. When discussing British entertainment programs, another participant in the Chinese students' focus group (2020) stated, "I rarely watch British entertainment programs because I cannot understand their humor. But sometimes I like to watch vlogs made by foreigners living in China to understand foreigners' views on China and Chinese culture".

The Changing of Media Consumption of Chinese People in the UK

Transitioning from print media to mobile digital media. In the past couple of decades, the transformation of the global media environment has had a significant impact on the media consumption habits of Chinese people in the UK. All the interviewees in this research agreed that the frequent emergence of new media products and digital equipment has provided increasingly convenient ways for them to access news and communicate with others. Nowadays, Chinese people in the UK have a multitude of new media choices that have greatly changed and enriched their daily lives. At the same time, the popularity of the internet and mobile devices has made it easier for Chinese people in the UK to access Chinese-language media. They are no longer as reliant on local Chinese-language media in the UK as they were in the past.

This research found that older participants are more likely to regularly watch TV in their daily lives compared to participants under 30 years old. However, for those participants who regularly watch TV, it is more of a habitual leisure activity rather than the primary way for them to access news. Chinese interviewee H (2020) mentioned that he often keeps his TV on with BBC News playing in the background when he's at home, but he rarely gives the television his full attention. Interviewee L (2020) stated that she prefers to watch digital TV instead of traditional TV programs broadcast in real-time by TV channels.

Among the 36 participants, only six mentioned that they read paper version newspapers. Among them, interviewees C (2020), D (2020), and ZH (2020) mentioned that they would sometimes read free English-language newspapers provided on public transport. Interviewee ZE added, "Since there is no signal in the London underground, I will read newspapers that have been left on seats of trains to pass the time" (Female interviewee ZE, 2020). This study found that although a section of Chinese people in the UK still read newspapers, it is no longer their primary way of accessing news. Interviewee H (2020) subscribed to the Times and the Guardian via email, but most of the time, he just skimmed over the contents of these newspapers.

The emergence of internet-based new media is driving and enhancing the digitization of Chinese-language newspapers in the UK. Almost all the UK Chinese-language newspapers have their official accounts on WeChat, even those that no longer publish paper copies and only post news through their WeChat accounts, such as the

UK Chinese Journal. Interviewees L (2020) and F (2020) mentioned that they do not read paper versions of Chinese-language newspapers, but they always browse content posted by these newspapers on WeChat, and they believe that the contents of these publications are relevant to their lives in the UK and have a high level of credibility. Interviewee C (2020), who is the editor-in-chief of a Chinese-language newspaper in the UK, mentioned that nowadays, their newspapers are in an awkward position. They have given up the paper version of newspapers altogether and plan to develop short video production, but it is very difficult for them to do this due to the shortage of professionals and funds.

Impacted by the evolving media landscape in China. Even though Chinese people in the UK have extremely diverse reasons for migration, a common feature of their time abroad is the inseparable connection between them and their homeland (Karim & Al-Rawi, 2018; Ogunyemi, 2017). All the participants in the focus groups and interviews of this research agreed that their media consumption habits continue to be influenced by the changing media environment in China.

First, Chinese people in the UK who are engaged in work related to China need to establish practical connections with China, thus having practical requirements in relation to their business communications. Some Chinese people in the UK work for transnational enterprises with business ties or branches in China, while others run businesses with Chinese people or Chinese companies in China. This necessitates their close engagement with Chinese media. For example, interviewee X mentioned that as mobile payment has become popular in China, his company now cooperates with Alipay to promote mobile payment businesses in the UK. Another interviewee, L (2020), stated that WeChat is a significant tool for her to communicate with her Chinese colleagues. Interviewee ZE (2020), who works for a Chinese-language newspaper, mentioned that her newspaper collaborates with several domestic newspapers in China, so she frequently uses Chinese-language media to access the latest China-related news.

Each year, a large number of Chinese people come to the UK, with young Chinese accounting for a significant proportion of these sojourners. These Chinese newcomers to the UK have been raised in a Chinese media context, and the media consumption habits they developed in China continue to influence their media consumption habits in the UK. These Chinese individuals in the UK tend to react quickly to changes in the media landscape in China, adopting new media or applications recommended by their friends in China. Moving away from a familiar cultural environment to an unfamiliar society inevitably causes different degrees of uncertainty and anxiety (Gudykunst, 1995). To reduce uncertainty and alleviate anxiety, some people turn to familiar media to satisfy their psychological need for security (Katz et al., 1973). Participants from the Chinese student focus group agreed that they continue to be influenced by the media landscape in China; for example, they often discuss trending topics from Chinese social media with their friends.

Additionally, some Chinese immigrants in the UK visit China regularly. These Chinese immigrants in the UK experience the changes in the media landscape in China firsthand and share these changes with other Chinese people in the UK when they return. A participant from the Chinese workers focus group (2020) mentioned that she found mobile payment and ordering by scanning QR codes in restaurants to be very popular when she returned to her hometown in China for a visit. Upon her return, she promoted mobile payment and QR code ordering in the Chinese restaurant where she worked in London, and this change was highly praised by Chinese customers.

Continual transformation throughout the intercultural adaptation journey of Chinese people in the UK. The extent to which the media consumption habits of Chinese people in the UK are influenced by the media landscape in China reflects, to some degree, their level of intercultural adaptation in the UK. To reduce

uncertainty and anxiety and adapt to their new social environment, individuals must acquire new social skills when they relocate to a different cultural setting (Gudykunst, 2005). These skills include effective communication with locals and utilizing local media. Consequently, Chinese individuals in the UK may consciously endeavor to modify their media consumption habits to better assimilate into the local social fabric of the UK. Their media consumption may also evolve gradually as they become more deeply integrated into the new cultural milieu. When Chinese individuals in the UK no longer require familiar Chinese-language media as a coping mechanism for intercultural anxiety, they may achieve a more profound level of intercultural adaptation.

In this study, nearly all the interviewees concurred that they initially consumed Chinese-language media more frequently than English-language media upon their arrival in the UK. However, their media consumption patterns underwent changes as they gradually acclimatized to life in the UK. Chinese immigrants in this study who have resided in the UK for an extended period and can effectively communicate with the local populace in English exhibit a greater reliance on mainstream British media. For instance, interviewee H (2020), who has lived in the UK for 27 years, used to read The People's Daily daily upon his initial arrival in the UK. Nonetheless, he began to question the accuracy of its news reports over time and has since discontinued reading the newspaper.

Chinese immigrants X (2020) and L (2020) also reported that their media usage habits shifted as their awareness and comprehension of the British media deepened. X (2020) mentioned that he hardly utilized British local media when he first arrived in the UK 18 years ago, but now he regularly watches British television channels on weekends to provide his children with an appropriate English-language environment. Similarly, changes in media consumption habits for L (2020) are related to her family life in the UK. L (2020) began using Facebook and Twitter because the school her children attend often posts news and information about activities on their Facebook or Twitter accounts. Additionally, L (2020) utilizes Facebook and Twitter to search for educational information on how to nurture her child's interests and skills. Over time, L (2020) discovered a wealth of useful and practical information on English-language social media, including local news that provides information about discount offers, prompting her to use these social media platforms more frequently.

Conclusion

This research contributes new knowledge and understanding of the media usage of the Chinese community in the UK. It is based on statistical data obtained from 306 questionnaires and extensive empirical evidence gathered from four focus groups and 10 interviews. The study constructs a knowledge framework for the media usage patterns of Chinese individuals in the UK, applying rich data and figures to demonstrate the approaches and channels they use to access news and information, their information preferences, and particularly focusing on the Chinese-language media consumption habits of Chinese people in the UK and their understanding of different media channels. The study suggests that Chinese-language media provide practical information and emotional support, offering Chinese platforms where virtual communities can be formed to satisfy the cognitive, affective, personal integrative, social integrative, and tension-free needs of Chinese individuals in the UK (Katz et al., 1973).

Previous research on ethnic media and diaspora media has indicated that these media typically have a positive effect on the intercultural adaptation process of migrants (Oyeleye, 2017; Park, 1922; Shi, 2009). This study contributes new insights to this point by exploring how Chinese-language media usage among Chinese people in the UK influences their cultural identity and intercultural adaptation process in the era of new media. One of the key arguments of this research is that Chinese-language internet-based media may encourage Chinese

individuals in the UK to retain their Chinese cultural identity by creating a Chinese cultural environment and Chinese-language context online. Chinese-language internet-based media also provide content that reinforces Chinese national characteristics and offer a platform for emotional support from fellow Chinese individuals. The researcher suggests that Chinese-language internet-based media are gradually replacing Chinese-language newspapers in the UK as a platform for Chinese individuals to build various online Chinese communities. These virtual Chinese communities, established by or for Chinese people in the UK on Chinese-language internet-based media, may promote the retention of Chinese cultural identity and the development of a new balance of mixed cultural identity.

　　Another key argument of this research is that while Chinese-language media may facilitate faster adaptation to the host society among Chinese individuals in the UK, it does not necessarily encourage integration into the host society. This means that the abundance of UK-related information provided by Chinese-language media and the various virtual Chinese communities formed on these media platforms may create an online Chinese cultural environment that acts as a buffer for Chinese individuals in the UK when they experience culture shock during their intercultural adaptation process. This buffer may help them transition from cultural shock to initial adjustment and then adaptation, but it does not necessarily support the move from adaptation to integration. Many Chinese individuals in the UK tend to remain within a virtual Chinese cultural online environment and Chinese-language context created by the Chinese-language media they consume, using it to maintain contact with other Chinese individuals. Consequently, they may be reluctant to take the initiative to engage with British society or form friendships with non-Chinese individuals in the UK. As participants in the Chinese student focus group (2020) noted, they can obtain most of the information they need and maintain contact with their families or friends through Chinese-language media. They also enjoy living with their Chinese friends, so they are unwilling and consider it unnecessary to establish contact with British society or make friends with non-Chinese individuals.

References

Al-Amer, R., Ramjan, L., Glew, P., Darwish, M., & Salamonson, Y. (2015). Translation of interviews from a source language to a target language: Examining issues in cross-cultural health care research. *Journal of Clinical Nursing, 24*(9-10), 1151-1162. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1111/jocn.12681

Al-Rawi, A. & Fahmy, S. (2018). Social media use in the diaspora: The case of Syrians in Italy. In K. H. Karim and A. Al-Rawi (Eds.), *Diaspora and media in Europe: Migration, identity, and integration* (pp. 71-96). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Anderson, B. (1983). *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism.* London: Verso.

Anderson, B. (1992). The new world disorder. *New Left Review, 1*(19), 3-13.

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bashri, M. (2017). Online communities, conflict, and diaspora: The case of South Sudanese women. In O. Ogunyemi (Ed.), *Media, diaspora and conflict* (pp. 223-234). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Boumba, M. S. (2018). Participative Web 2.0 and second-generation Congolese youth in Brussels: Social network sites, self-expression, and cultural identity. In K. H. Karim and A. Al-Rawi (Eds.), *Diaspora and media in Europe: Migration, identity, and integration* (pp. 165-183). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Branco, I. (2018). Media and the Receiving Country's Language: The Integration of Nepalese Immigrants in Portugal. In K. H. Karim and A. Al-Rawi (Eds.), *Diaspora and media in Europe: Migration, identity, and integration* (pp. 147-164). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brinkerhoff, J. (2009). *Digital diasporas: Identity and transnational engagement.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chan, B. (2005). Imagining the homeland: The internet and diasporic discourse of nationalism. *Journal of Communication Inquiry, 29*(4), 336-368.

Click, C. E. (1980). *Sojourners and settlers: Chinese migrants in Hawaii.* Honolulu: Hawaii Chinese History Center, and University Press of Hawaii.

CNNIC. (2020). *The 45rd China statistical report on internet development*. China Internet Network Information Center. Retrieved from http://www.cnnic.cn/hlwfzyj/hlwxzbg/hlwtjbg/202004/P020200428596599037028.pdf

Cohen, R. (1997). *Global diasporas: An introduction*. Hoboken: Taylor and Francis.

Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.

Dai, N. (2014). *Mu Yu Chuan Bo Shi Jiao Xia De Ou Zhou Hua Wen Chuan Mei Yan Jiu (A study of Europe Chinese media from the perspective of mother tongue communication).* Shanghai: Shang Hai She Hui Ke Xue Yuan Chu Ban She (Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences Press).

Denscombe, M. (2014) *The Good Research Guide: For Small-scale Social Research Projects*, Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Deuze, M. (2006). Ethnic media, community media and participatory culture. *Journalism, 7*(3), 262-280.

Georgiou, M. (2013). Diaspora in the digital era: Minorities and media representation. *Journal on Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe, 12*(4), 80-99.

Gov.UK. (2020). Chinese ethnic group: Facts and figures. *Ethnicity Facts and Figures*. Retrieved from https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/summaries/chinese-ethnic-group

Gudykunst, W. B. (1995) Anxiety/Uncertainty Management (AUM) Theory: Current Status, IN: R. Wiseman (ed.) *Intercultural Communication Theory*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, pp. 8-57.

Gudykunst, W. B. (2005). An Anxiety/Uncertainty Management (AUM) theory of strangers' intercultural adjustment. In W. B. Gudykunst (Ed.), *Theorizing about intercultural communication* (pp. 419-457). New York: Sage Publications.

Han, C., & Tong, Y. (2021). Students at the nexus between the Chinese diaspora and internationalisation of higher education: The role of overseas students in China's strategy of soft power. *British Journal of Educational Studies, 69*(5), 579-598.

Inês, B. (2018). Media and the receiving country's language: The integration of Nepalese immigrants in Portugal. In K. H. Karim and A. Al-Rawi (Eds.), *Diaspora and media in Europe: Migration, identity, and integration* (pp. 147-164). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Karim, K. H. (2003). *The media and diaspora.* London: Routledge.

Karim, K. H., & Al-Rawi, A. (2018). *Diaspora and media in Europe: Migration, identity, and integration.* Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Katz, E., Blumler, J. G., & Gurevitch, M. (1973). Uses and gratifications research. *The Public Opinion Quarterly, 37*(4), 509-523. Retrieved from http://www.jstor.org/stable/2747854

Leighton, E., & Michael, S. (2017). *Location-based social media: Space, time and identity,* Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Lester, D. (2013). Measuring Maslow's hierarchy of needs. *Psychological Reports, 113*(1), 15-17.

Madianou, M., & Miller, D. (2012). *Migration and new media: Transnational families and polymedia*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Mahmood, J. (2016). *Kurdish diaspora online: From imagined community to managing communities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Morgan, D. H. G. (2011). Locating "Family Practices". *Sociological Research Online, 16*(4), 106. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.2535

Mpofu, S. (2017). Diasporic new media and conversations on conflict: A case of Zimbabwe genocide debates. In O. Ogunyemi (Ed.), *Media, diaspora and conflict* (pp. 205-221). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Nedelcu, M., & Wyss, M. (2016). "Doing family" through ICT-mediated ordinary co-presence: Transnational communication practices of Romanian migrants in Switzerland. *Global Networks, 16*(2), 202-218.

Ogunyemi, O. (2017). Introduction: Communicating conflict from the diaspora. In O. Ogunyemi (Ed.), *Media, diaspora and conflict* (pp. 1-16). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Oyeleye, A. (2017). Diaspora Journalism and Conflicts in Transnational Media Circuits. In O. Ogunyemi (Ed.), *Media, diaspora and conflict* (pp. 19-36). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Park, R. E. (1922). *The immigrant press and its control*. London; New York: Harper.

Plewa, P. (2020). Chinese labor migration to Europe, 2008-16. Implications for China-EU mobility in the post-crisis context. *International Migration, 58*(3), 22-42.

Ponzanesi, S. (2020). Digital diasporas: Postcoloniality, media and affect, interventions. *International Journal of Postcolonial Studies, 22*(8), 977-993. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1080/1369801X.2020.1718537

Salojärvi, V. (2017). The media use of diaspora in a conflict situation: A case study of Venezuelans in Finland. In O. Ogunyemi (Ed.), *Media, diaspora and conflict* (pp. 173-188). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Seargeant, P., & Tagg, C. (2014). Introduction: The language of social media. In P. Seargeant and C. Tagg (Eds.), *The language of social media: Identity and community on the internet* (pp. 1-20). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Shi, Y. (2005). Identity construction of the Chinese diaspora, ethnic media use, community formation, and the possibility of social activism. *Continuum Journal of Media & Cultural Studies, 19*(1), 55-72.

Shi, Y. (2009). Re-evaluating the "Alternative" role of ethnic media in the US: The case of Chinese-language press and working-class women readers. *Media, Culture & Society, 31*(4), 597-616.

Somani, I. S., & Guo, J. (2018). Seeing Indian, being Indian: Diaspora, identity, and ethnic media. *Howard Journal of Communications, 29*(1), 63-82. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1080/10646175.2017.1327376

Timmermans, M. (2018). Media use by Syrians in Sweden: Media consumption, identity, and integration, In K. H. Karim and A. Al-Rawi (Eds.), *Diaspora and media in Europe: Migration, identity, and integration* (pp. 51-70). Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Uy-Tioco, C. S., & Cabalquinto, E. C. B. (2020). Transnational mobile carework: Filipino migrants, family intimacy, and mobile media. In J. V. A. Cabanes and C. S. Uy-Tioco (Eds.), *Mobile media and social intimacies in Asia: Reconfiguring local ties and enacting global relationships* (pp. 153-170). Berlin: Springer.

Wang, X. (2014). Shu Zi Hua De Lv Ju Zhe—Zai De Guo De Zhong Guo Ren Xin Mei Ti Shi Yong Yu Wen Hua Ren Tong Yan Jiu (Digital sojourners—A study on the use of new media and cultural identity of Chinese in Germany) (Ph.D. thesis, Wuhan University, 2014).

Wu, B. (2017). Chinese student migration and community-building: An exploration of new diasporic formation in England. In M. Zhou (Ed.), *Contemporary Chinese diasporas* (pp. 309-327). Singapore: Springer Singapore.

Young, M., Varpio, L., Uijtdehaage, S., & Paradis, E. (2020). The spectrum of inductive and deductive research approaches using quantitative and qualitative data. *Academic Medicine, 95*(7), 1122-1122.

Yu, H., & Sun, W. (2019). Introduction: Social media and Chinese digital diaspora in Australia. *Media International Australia, 173*(1), 17-21.

Yue, M., & Chen, Q. (2010). Zhong Guo Dian Shi Xin Wen 50 Nian Fa Zhan Shi Lun Lue (The development history of Chinese TV news in the past 50 years). *Southeast Communication, 67*(67), 76-78.

Zhou, M. (2017). *Contemporary Chinese diasporas.* Singapore: Springer Singapore.

Zhu, Y., & Berry, C. (2009). *TV China*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.